1. Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (Home). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (ava) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The westernmost section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Nisa. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1914. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Uta, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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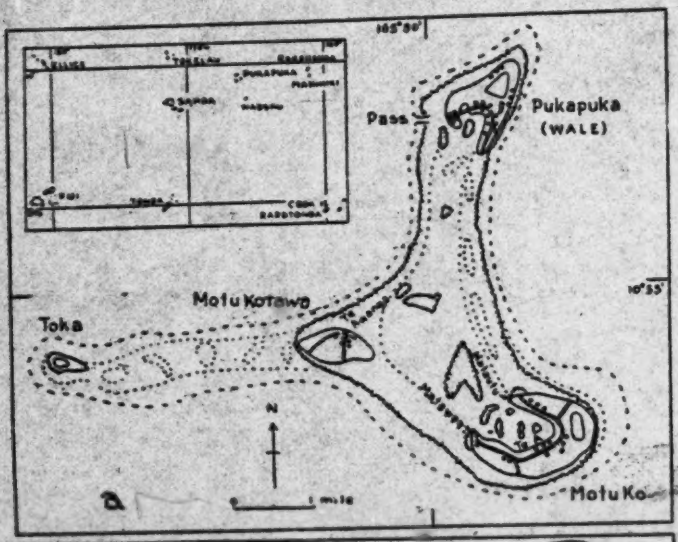

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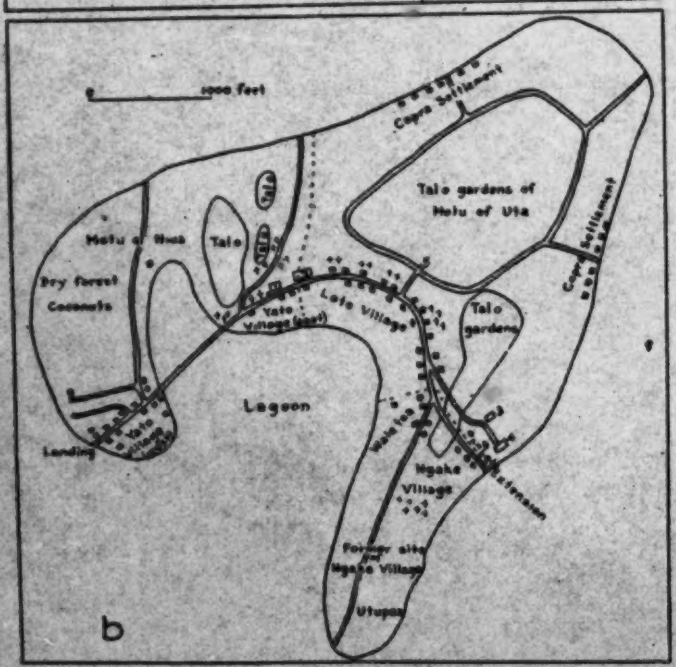

FIGURE 1.—Maps of Pukapuka. *a*, atoll of Pukapuka, showing relation of the three islets, and reef circuit. *b*, islet of Pukapuka or Wale: dotted lines indicate village boundaries, solid lines main paths, and crosses principal cemeteries. 1, school; 2, London Missionary Society church; 3, courthouse; 4, residency; 5, old watch house at Matala.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

Physical Characteristics

At the time of our visit at Pukapuka the natives were living away from the village. For this reason it was impossible to make a series of physical measurements. The following notes sum up the observations made of those natives who came in from time to time to see our party.

The composition of the features differs from that of Samoans, Tongans, and western Polynesians. The faces of many Pukapukans closely resemble natives in the Tokelau Islands, a similarity that is startling in many individuals. Many Samoans have an Oriental cast of countenance in their high cheek bones and upward-tilted eyes, which frequently have a trace of an epicanthic fold. Most of the natives at Pukapuka have high malars and wide, deep-set eyes with no trace of the epicanthic fold. Prognathism is absent. Brow ridges are of medium thickness and the glabella is prominent, as compared with these features in Samoans and Tongans. I saw one markedly convex nose and several that were slightly convex. Many noses are long and relatively narrow for Polynesians, and many have sharply flaring alae, characteristic of Tongans. The root is low and concave. The lips varied from thin to exceptionally thick and everted, but the thick type is the commoner one. The hair is black, varying from a medium to a deep wave. The men have a medium beard, heavier than is common among Samoans. The skin color of the face is exceptionally dark for Polynesians, but this may be due to life on an atoll where a great deal of time is spent on the water and exposed to the sun. Both men and women had the upper parts of their bodies clothed, so I was unable to observe less-exposed parts of the body. The women were short for Polynesians and much shorter than the men.

Geography

The atoll of Pukapuka (latitude 10° 53′ S., longitude 165° 50′ W.) lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa. Its nearest neighbor is Nassau Island, 45 miles southeast, an atoll which formerly had a native population but is at present occupied by a European planter and laborers from Pukapuka and Ellice Islands.

Pukapuka consists of three islets and a few small sand keys which together form a rough triangle with the apex to the north (fig. 1). The northern islet, Pukapuka, is about a mile wide. The entire population lives along the southern or lagoon shore of this islet. Motu Koe (Ko) and Motu Kotava (Katava, Kavata) are planted with coconuts, taro, and fruit trees, and are reserved solely as plantations. Each has a small settlement of shelters and houses which are used during the harvesting periods. Bryan (1) reports that the western end of Motu Kotava has one of the most luxuriant growths of vegetation on any atoll in western Polynesia.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

of copra are exported. Nine varieties of taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) grow on the island; *talo Borabora, talo maoraora, talo koli, talo uakene, talo nenengu, talo kula, talo pongi, talo taraki, talo 'enga'enga.* *Puraka* (*Cyrtosperma chamissonis*), a coarse tuber of the taro family with enormous heart-shaped leaves, is grown in the wet pits. This plant is said to have been introduced from the Cook Islands. Bananas (*wuti*), papayas, limes, and sugar cane grow on the island, but because of the poor soil the production is slight and contributes very little to the food supply. Hutchin (6, p. 173) states that sweet potatoes (*kumala*) and arrowroot were formerly grown.

Fish forms the chief flesh diet. Turtles are caught during the mating season when they are off the reefs and the females come ashore to lay their eggs in the sand. Pigs and chickens are kept on the island but are eaten only on occasions of celebrating some event.

Although Pukapuka was sighted by a European ship as early as 1765, it has enjoyed an existence remarkably free from intercourse with Europeans because of its isolation and its lack of natural resources. Captain Byron discovered the island on June 21, 1765, and named it "Danger Island" because of its treacherous submerged reefs and rapid currents. Lovett (8, p. 372) states that a native missionary teacher was on the island in 1857 and had proselytized most of the natives before the arrival of Reverend W. W. Gill, the first European missionary, in 1862. During the decade 1860-70 Peruvian slavers raided the island for laborers to carry to South America. In two visits they took 150 men and women, none of whom ever returned to their home (11).

The island was formally annexed by Great Britain in 1892. In 1901, by an Imperial Order in Council, Great Britain extended the boundaries of New Zealand to include the Cook Islands, Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, Palmerston, Pukapuka, and Niue. Pukapuka is now governed by the Cook Islands Administration. At present Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, directs the government, and with Mrs. Henry conducts the island school and cares for the health and sanitation. Most of the population belongs to the London Missionary Society Protestant church, which is under the direction of a native pastor. In 1919 Mr. Wicks, of the Seventh Day Adventist sect, arrived at the island and directed the building of a church during his temporary residence. A small group still retain their membership in this church. No European missionaries live on the island today.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF NO. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will bt seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.